/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[623] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249 / by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

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623 title of gobernador. In Paez this corresponds to the designation tõtens. At his side, in Calderas, stands the gobernador suplente as his representative; other functionaries are the alcalde /see the glossary, p. 248 / (in Paez ka'nas), of whom there are two in Calderas, the alcalde mayor and the alcalde menor, furthermore two fiscales, three comisarios, and one comisario escolar, as well as an alguacil. The composition of the cabildo in Santa Rosa is the following: a gobernador, an alcalde, a fiscal, a comisario escolar, and an alguacil. In Lame there are a gobernador, a gobernador suplente, two fiscales, one comisario, and one alguacil. The cabildo in Togoima consists of the gobernador, the gobernador suplente, two alcaldes, two fiscales, three comisarios, one comisario escolar, and one alguacil. Aside from the double and triple occupancies, the composition of the cabildo is the same in the four villages. It should be noted that there are Paez words only for the gobernador and the alcalde; Spanish designations are used for the rest of the functionaries.

623 554 The authority of the gobernador as the leader of the village rests more on his personal prestige than on official means of power. He must therefore be very cautious with his regulations and instructions. He has the collectively conceived decisions of the village council carried out with respect to road or bridge building or the repair of the church, the school, or the community house. While his regulations remain within the scope of what the great majority of the village also regards as good, the collectivity exerts strong pressure on those who stand apart. In flagrant instances of aparmess, however, he has quite drastic measures at his disposal, which, though they are today no longer as strictly wielded as formerly, can nevertheless be very effective in the hands of an energetic gobernador. It is taken for granted, however, that the gobernador acts neither unjustly nor arbitrarily, sets a good example in all undertakings, and is active first and last in the communal work. How little the gobernador is in a position to issue arbitrary orders within his village may be illustrated by the following example: One Saturday the gobernador

[626]

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461 longer period of time, consumed the products he himself raised.
476 Thus the practice of communal work and the joint consumption
156 of food and drink connected with it do not unconditionally emphasize the necessity for remote individual farms as against the compact village layout.

556 /204/ From what has been said about joint work and the
461 joint consumption associated with it, it follows that, with this
[476] method of production and consumption, practically no one can acquire great wealth, for the more a person has, the more he needs to entertain his helpers. Theoretically, however, it would be easy to become rich, if, for example, a young man would clear an additional piece of land each year for the planting of wheat or sugar cane and sell its yield for money or barter it for horses or cows. He would have to do this for several years, and then his herd of cows and mares would increase quite automatically, and with it his wealth. The actual work necessary for this
556 would be slight. Nevertheless, this is not possible in practice,
●626 because, on the one hand, most of the Paez do not calculate and think so far ahead, and, on the other hand, the sufficiently intelligent and industrious ones would be subject to the dangerous envy of the other members of the community. The democratization of the Paez communities not only favors what is common, but also prevents the individualization of what is common to all -- among other things, even the common poverty.

For this reason no show is made of any possessions that one
556 might have. Significantly, only in connection with taking an inventory of livestock at the end of our work did we discover that even in Calderas there are comparatively rich people. This was not to be seen by an outsider, since these families do not stand out from the others either by dress or by way of life. Moreover, they did not tell me anything about their property -- a matter of more than ten head of cattle in the case of three families. I learned about it more or less accidentally from other
[651] people. In the case of these families, I could not see any reason for the concealment of their wealth, since they do not have any obligations or taxes or fees to pay. They likewise do not play a

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556 special sociological role within their community, for they are elected neither more frequently nor more rarely to the village offices. They have simply "always" been considered wealthy, though it should be noted that in the language of the Paez there [192] is no word at all for "rich" or "poor." The word used for "poor," "póre," comes from the Spanish (povre), and the word used for "rich," "čáčanas," at the same time means "strong" in the physi- 556 cal sense. Despite this apparent unimportance of wealth, how- ●626 ever, it is jealously seen to that no other industrious man of a poor family will become rich and possibly put his wealth -- by means of Colombian dress or something similar -- on display. The evil shamans would put a spell on him or poison him, /205/ and the neighbors would devastate his fields by driving their cattle there. He would be cut by everyone, and people in a state of intoxica- 115 tion would start a fight with him in order to kill him. At any 556 rate, this is what happened and is happening to our interpreter, 626 Victoriano. He does not come from a wealthy family, but he wants to acquire money and livestock through diligence and [291] ability. From the money he earned among the whites he has [177] already bought himself the clothing of the whites, which he now proudly displays, and at festivals he sells wax candles and sweets. His fellow-villagers hate him on that account. The priest has had to protect him several times already from the machetes of drunken men who had started a fight with him; and in our presence, too, when we visited various houses with him, he was occasionally very rudely heckled by drunken men. Not least because, in the opinion 115 of the Calderun, he is not working. Again and again I tried to ex- 123 plain to the people that they, too, could "go walking" with me and 556 earn money if they were able to speak Spanish. Since this was 626 not the case, there was nothing else for me to do but always work with Victoriano. Nothing helped; Victoriano became more and more unpopular, and I, too, was regarded as a do-nothing. A 123 drunken man who, instead of the one cigarette he was given, vainly demanded an entire pack as a present abused me, too, as an "alko," a dog, who is always going from house to house and does not work.

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696 685 417 681 [824] [623] according to the decision of the cabildo. First of all, the animal or the crop destroyed must be replaced, and then the offender is put in the "tree trunk." This is a form of punishment that was formerly used very frequently in other Paez communities, too. Actually it consists of two tree trunks, into each of which two notches are chopped on opposing sides. The condemned person is put in, with his feet up to the ankles in these rather narrow notches, and then the tree trunks are tightly bound together with lianas. All the members of the cabildo take part in this work. Then the bound tree trunks are fastened to the ceiling of the council house, so that the condemned man hangs head downward and the trunks cut into his flesh very considerably. There were no other types of punishment. The degree was determined by the number of hours of hanging, which extended from one to, allegedly, 24 hours.

556 ●626 [623] [692] [208] Injustices on the part of envious fellow-citizens toward a man striving for wealth manifest themselves by their driving their animals into the man's well-fenced fields. This is done until the person in question no longer feels any inclination to excel over others through diligence and property. Little is accomplished by complaining to the cabildo, since the gobernador cannot make a decision that runs counter to the opinion of the entire village, and a weak spot in the fence can always be demonstrated somewhere.

692 623 68 Other and not infrequent occasions on which the cabildo must act as judge are complaints concerning adultery and support (see above). There are no complaints about verbal insults, just as there is no punishment for this. They are countered by matching expressions. Similarly, unintentional bodily injury, for example, by a machete during joint work or a case of death during tree-cutting, is not punishable. Only if a person shoots his neighbor's eye out with an elastic sling during bird hunting would he be punished, "but not very severely."